/403 cont./

291 often feels annoying or uncomfortable to them. In the hut and in the canoe, at work and on the hunt, the man carelessly lets it fall by loosening the leather knot, and he feels better now than he did before. He warms to be entirely free for the goal he happens to be pursuing. The piece is durable, but it gets hard wear and is given no care at all. After only a few weeks it is shabby and torn at the edges, but the man drags it about for more than half a year (69).

69. The following authors mention this back cape of the men: Aspinall:270, Bove (c):157, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (p) :237, Lothrop (b) :121, Snow (a) :H, 16, Spegazzini (c) :161, and others.

291 Most of the men at all times and everywhere wear a cover-
288 ing over the genitals which is somewhat larger than that worn by
•834 the women. They prefer a smooth piece of leather from which the fur has been entirely removed. It is, of course, used only for the sake of decency. Nevertheless, some old men become so careless that they almost habitually go without it. When they sit or stand, their conduct betrays a certain bashfulness, it is true, but this feeling is no longer strong enough in them that they would go to the trouble of wearing a covering. The people generally do not like to see young or middle-aged persons completely naked, but no one dares to remonstrate with old men. Nevertheless, the latter, when they are sitting, take care that their nakedness does not offend the eyes of those present. Defiant nakedness is not approved on principle.

291 In olden times neither footgear nor any kind of foot cover-
177 ing was known. Whereas it was always lacking among the people of the Cape Horn region, as Hyades (q) :348 maintains (70), it was

70. Fitz-Roy (a) :138 in his day reported of the southern people that "neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes" /cited in English/.

probably only in recent times that regular sandals of guanaco and seal skins were adopted in the middle and eastern region. Some

/406 cont./

291 The brief "modesty apron" (77) worn by every woman and

77. This article is mentioned, for example, by Decker (p. 52), George Forster (p. 59), Weddel (p. 68), Snow (b):283 and others. "It is used by all the girls and women of the country, from the youngest to the oldest. It is extremely rare for a Fuegian woman to be without this article of clothing, and if she loses it for some reason, her first concern is to procure another one" (La Nature: 312) /translated from French/.

even by most of the men is indispensable. It is known as malakáua, millagáua, and they are never without it. We particularly want to refer to it here, because some European travelers take it so very much for granted that they either do not mention it specifically or do not describe it enough. It is so necessary to a woman's outfit that Hyades (p):338 wrote: "There is no difference between the two sexes, except that the women wear a little 'vine leaf' made of guanaco hide" /translated from French/ (78). There is no such

78. In another connection Hyades (q):348 again speaks of this "article of dress which, by its location and dimensions, precisely reminds one of the vine leaf that is put on some statues" /translated from French/.

thing as going naked among the women and girls.

291 P34 Whereas Dubbene (b) :176 assures us that men sometimes do not have any kind of covering, he nevertheless emphasizes without qualification: "The women always wear a belt with a little piece of hide that covers only the genital parts" /translated from Spanish/. How anxiously every woman clings to this modesty-apron and avoids complete nudity in front of men is apparent from an observation which Hyades (q) :409 has inserted in a description of the pictures in his monograph. Plate 12 shows a nude girl named "Kamanakar Kipa; Figure 1 shows her at a moment when she was not wearing her little apron, a very rare occurrence; our /407/

291 /407 cont./
834 lamented comrade, Naval Lieutenant Payen, who took this photograph, was very well acquainted with this girl, but he could never persuade her to move her right hand from the place where the apron belonged" /translated from French/.

This apron is thus strictly demanded by decency and a feeling of modesty. Even at night the women do not remove it (79).

79. Hyades (f):561 again speaks of this in detail: "The women have only a little covering for modesty, intended to hide the genital parts, which consists of a very short and very narrow triangle suspended between the thighs. It is made of guanaco hide, with the fur turned inward. They never, or almost never, remove this covering; during the conjugal act, it is simply raised up on the abdomen" /translated from French/. Compare also Hyades (b):1346.

291 It is usually triangular in shape, about 15 centimeters wide at the top and about ten centimeters long in the middle. Some are also trapezoidal or rectangular in shape. They always choose a soft [281] piece of leather and prefer guanaco leather, both sides of which are scraped and rubbed with blubber. Girls and younger women use pieces of otter and guanaco skins without removing the fur. They wear the fur side against their bodies (80). A hole is bored into

80. Hyades (d) :307 thinks that this is "probably because its contact against the skin is softer than that of leather" /translated from French/.

the two upper corners, in one of which is knotted a narrow leather band or a braided tendon. This is drawn over the hips and knotted on the other corner. The apron hangs freely, fits well, is slightly pressed between the legs, and serves its purpose (81). This piece

81. Lothrop (b) :123 says only: "A triangular pubic covering of skin was usually worn by the

/408 cont./

291 take care of their clothing just as little as adults do. They drag it through mud and ashes and use it to sit on and as a cover for sleeping; they wrap meat and shells in it and make use of it whenever and however it may serve them. For its part the climate has a great deteriorating effect on all leather. Even though it is more or less saturated with blubber and is constantly, consciously or unconsciously, rubbed with fat, the layer of fur on the outside soon wears out through much use, /409/ and then dampness can get at it on both sides. Mold is constantly forming and in a short time causes large, irregular soft patches that easily tear and cause holes. Then, at last, the mother provides a long-needed replacement. Otter skins are more precious than seal skins, but every mother prefers to use the former because they are softer and more beautiful, and she does not mind that they are not as durable.

These children of nature do not worry and are not anxiously concerned about their clothing. If a boy has to wait for days for a new cloak because he has lost his old one, he makes up for it in the daytime with the warmth of the hut fire, and at night he snuggles close to his brothers and sisters who give him some of their body warmth or a little space under their own short backcapes which serve them all as a cover. They are satisfied with the least of everything.

4. Purpose of Clothing

291 834 The two pieces of leather with which the Yamana cover only small areas of their bodies cannot possibly be regarded as clothing. Without giving it much thought, one recognizes the brief triangular apron as something required on principle by a feeling of modesty. This is proved by the shape of this <u>malakána</u> as such, and the fact that all female persons must never be seen without it.[88] As a matter of fact, all the young and middle-aged men, practically without exception, appear in front of women with this covering. It is only the old men who no longer give offense by complete nudity (p. 54), no matter how much the adults in their vicinity dislike seeing them in this state (83). Furthermore,

88. Lothrop's (b):121 too general assertion

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•834

/409 cont./
"that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked" /cited in English/ must this be qualified.

the general practice of putting this pubic covering on girls when they are still children, without any kind of accompanying festivity or ceremony, is most significant. When women change these coverings or remove them for any reason, they avoid doing so in the presence of other persons (84). Girls learn to conduct them-

[867]

84. See page 59 as to the conduct of young Kamanakarkipa who was caught by surprise without her modesty-apron by a French officer.

selves properly while standing and sitting, not only by the example of the adults, but through special instruction.

This scrap of leather, to be sure, is only the size of one's hand and is suspended from a mere string around the hips, but, as Hyades (g) :33 has observed, "they never appear without this Mashakana, which is quite sufficient for them, although one can by no means say that they lack a sense of modesty." When sitting, they usually keep their thighs together and place one foot in such a position that the heel presses the pubic covering against the /410/ body. Only an old man sometimes squats on the ground without a covering and with his legs wide apart.

[516]

Hyades (p) :338 aptly says of this small piece of skin: "it is an emblem of modesty" /translated from French/. Women even regard it as improper merely to speak of it. For this reason I tactfully had to persuade an old woman to make this piece for me, which I wanted to add to my collection. She made it in secret and gave it to me with the remark that I should not mention it to other people. Sometimes younger women cover their breasts with the short back-cape, at any rate if men should annoy them with meaningful glances.

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The little cloak can only provide meager and incomplete protection against wind and bad storms. A continuous cold current of air from one direction against a part of the body is intolerable for anyone. Even so, a person sitting in a canoe and obliged to reach a certain goal cannot protect himself against it in any other

222 [262] /554 cont./

texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough asut is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few Cyttaria species, among which Cyttaria darwinii Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as ĕsĕf; when it is ripe it is called aufcix. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as amăif or ĕsamăif. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch. Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they pick them off with their toes and drop them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

222 462

[481 934]

Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222 With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the Cyttaria darwinii are always found on trees and are edible in any

/645 cont./

836 849 The question of a possible illegitimate birth is related to this discussion. Children who have reached puberty are sufficiently enlightened on the subject of sex life (p. 390). After an instance of adultery, neither of the guilty parties, who probably always return to their lawful partners, thinks of the possible consequences of their meeting. As a rule, however, unmarried couples avoid intercourse before marriage, for the girls maintain a remarkably strict reserve, even toward bold youths. This union, however, may have occurred among young people who had already tacitly agreed to marry. In such a case they have been legitimately married long before the fruit of their mutual love appears. Hence there is actually no recognizable illegitimate birth among the Yamana (22).

609 22. This is not to deny sexual intercourse by strategy or force between European sailors or farmers and Indian women; the consequences are known far and wide. What the natives themselves thought and still think about this is only occasionally, but clearly enough expressed in the jealousy with which they guard their women and girls in the presence of strangers. See pages 336 and 353 /in untranslated portion of this work/.

834 The separation of children by sex at the time of puberty is intended chiefly to preserve their premarital chastity, as is expressed in clear instructions and warnings. Young people know very well that they are being watched, and although it is difficult for them to avoid the sharp eyes of adults, they sometimes succeed in doing so. On such occasions a bold lad will permit himself unseemly conduct with a girl. Such secrecy is seldom possible and is censured by every adult, in fact, seriously punished by the parents of the little culprits. There can be no question of sexual freedom for the Indian women. The Yamana are not familiar with any kind of ordeals of chastity. They demand decency of young people before marriage, just as they wish to insure freedom

/645 cont./

834 in the selection of a mate (23).

23. If we consider the prevalent ideas in the free selection of a mate, we realize the absolute similarity and unanimity between our Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 321).

/646/ 5. The Duty of Marrying a Widow

587 Apparently the levirate which is in effect among the Yamana deprives the widow of her freedom. I have the distinct impression that the rules pertaining to this are at least as specific and as definitely observed as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 347). I learned the following details from Fred Lawrence and Calderon.

587 604 736 Every Indian is familiar with the obligation of taking his widowed sister-in-law, along with her children, into his hut (24),

24. Only Hahn (a):805 mentioned the levirate among the Yamana. We might also deduce it from the following words of Bridges: "Brothers often take their deceased brothers' wives" /cited in Engl[illegible]/ (MM:III, 117;1869); we cannot deduce from these words, however, a real obligation, which actually exists. See footnote on page 418.

but it is emphasized much more definitely that he must care for his nephews and nieces; there is less insistence that he devote himself to the widow, whether or not she wishes to marry. If these half-orphaned children have no grandparents and their mother does not decide to marry another man, the uncle must take them into his own hut where he must care for them as though they were his own. Above all, their sustenance is to be guaranteed. The group as a whole takes care of their participation in the youth initiation which sooner or later becomes necessary. From now on the paternal uncle takes the place of his deceased brother for the still immature orphans in all matters pertaining

/686 cont./
836 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality
867 are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper con-
836 duct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical intactness (94). The Yamana do not know the

94. On this subject Hyades (q):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious perversion on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (b):1346 and (q):188 words: "There is no value placed /687/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

95. Hahn (a):805 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the serious warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not
[581] readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold; he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

A few effective protective measures for special occasions
431 have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two
●834 sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

/687 cont./

431 fond of each other and wish to strengthen their affection through
• 834 such attentions. It is well known that a successful hunter will have his wife give neighboring families large pieces of his booty. She gives the pieces of meat directly to the other women who use it for their respective families.

A man resorts to the same indirect procedure if he wants to avoid any kind of suspicion and yet please some married woman who is devoted to him by giving her a gift. If he knows that she likes to eat some special kinds of fungi, he gladly takes the trouble on his wanderings to gather a few in a leather bag. He goes to the hut of his friend and empties the bag in front of her husband, letting him know by a look or sign: "These fungi are meant chiefly for your wife!" She, too, knows what her taciturn friend particularly likes, and she lets him know her feelings by means of a suitable gift. For example, in order to avoid malicious gossip, she makes blood sausage or blubber sausage, if he is fond of it, and brings it to the wife of her friend with the remark: "I give this sausage to your husband!" He, too, hears her brief words -- as intended -- which tell him everything that her feelings and sentiments have put into the remark. In order to be still less conspicuous, a man will send a small present to his friend through his own wife, and a woman will send hers through her husband. The recipient knows full well what it means. In this way the two friends publicly announce that their relations are harmless, and usually this is the case. A person having an intimate relationship does not wish to call attention to himself and the favored individual, even by means of such admissible demonstrations of love. He will wisely avoid doing so.

This "roundabout giving," as I should like to call it, is by no means regarded as especially strict and exclusive. In case a man meets a single woman somewhere, he may give her a sizable piece of his booty right on the spot, all the more if her dwelling /688/ is far distant from his. The measure just described shows every outsider that our Yamana consider it necessary to fortify conjugal fidelity with external props, so that transgressions do not increase still more.

593 In most marriages of our Fuegians, the two partners have had and still have a pleasant, happy, and, after some years, balanced

1: Gusinde--916 E-8 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/1008 cont./

156 fright. The presence of a feared yékamul of ill repute has an even more deadening and paralyzing effect on any exchange of ideas within a group. In free gatherings, however, above all in games and after a successful hunt, the atmosphere is gaily noisy and merry without restraint.

156 The taciturn, quiet behavior of the Yámana is also an ex-
516 pression of their natural modesty. This characteristic is clearly apparent when one compares them with the proud, self-confident Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1143). It is not the nature of our Fuegians to be noisily conspicuous or to push themselves forward, to boast in front of their own people or to act important among their neighbors, to irritate others with their own feats of strength or to brag about real achievements. Careful European observers are struck by the shy reserve and timid anxiety of the women and girls. This disposition naturally determines social behavior. On their errands and in their wanderings the women generally keep their eyes on the ground in front of them; one scarcely ever meets a woman who animatedly and inquisitively glances all about her. In a circle of women squatting around the hut fire one is very much aware of how they have control of their eyes; they will sit for a long time as though they did not dare raise them and give them free play. As a matter of fact, /1009/ even in old age they retain the retiring, inconspicuous behavior that is imposed upon every girl on the occasion of her menarche (p. 569). Nelly Lawrence was particularly careful about [illegible] which seems all the more strange since a free, self-confid[illegible]aving would have been justified by her higher social position. In spite of this, however, she was proud to follow exactly the ways of her ancestors.

•834 Moreover, etiquette insistently demands, even for adults, a degree of the separation of the sexes required of young people (p. 549). If several families gather together, the men and women immediately separate, and each group stays by itself if there is a long conversation or entertainment. It is true that they often join in group games because they take place in the open and in front of many people. If they assemble in a dwelling, the women squat either in a closed group near the entrance or in a circle behind the men who sit down around the fire. It is not permissible and at the very least arouses suspicion if a man enters a hut in which a woman is sitting alone, nor would a woman enter a hut where a man is

/1009 cont./

alone. In such cases the visitor is supposed to remain standing in front of the hut entrance and from here make known his or her wish, unless they prefer to wait for a more suitable occasion. As a rule, everyone first finds out whether the person to whom he wishes to speak is accompanied by others in the hut before he visits him. In order to prevent any embarrassment or, above all, gossip, women who value their reputations customarily take a child along whenever they enter a strange hut. Nelly Lawrence made it a rule to do this. Although she was the mistress of the house and on each of my four journeys I was a guest of long standing in her house, nevertheless she never visited the room assigned to me unless she was accompanied by at least one of her children. Gertie did the same. If a successful hunter lets his wife distribute some of his booty among the neighboring huts, she observes the prescribed rules (p. 474). It is well known that, in spite of this, a man now and then secretly meets a woman for illicit intercourse, and the persons who arouse justified suspicion are carefully watched. It has been mentioned several times that gifts are never directly given to a woman by a man or to a man by a woman.

What we have just said about prescriptions for social intercourse does not mean that it is basically undermined or seriously curtailed. As a matter of fact, frequent visits back and forth are not only a social requirement, but also a very human, psychological one. Under the pressure of the daily food quest the family must, in any case, again and again go their way alone while parents, as well as children, are fully occupied with the tasks assigned them. /1010/ It is only in the evening that they have a few hours of intimate social life, if indeed they are not too tired. In the long run, however, this is not enough; hence, they gladly welcome every visitor who comes to them. He will surely have something new to tell them, report all kinds of incidents, and answer a few questions and inquiries. Both parties are pleased and stimulated by the meeting. Occasionally a family must seek aid among others, for example, when they have lost some implements in a storm, when they lack food or materials for implements, when they find themselves burdened with a helpless sick person, or have suffered loss by death. Since assistance in such cases can be obtained only from other families, they are urgently drawn to them,

/1088 cont./

577 grumble about them or to resist them, and no one would presume
776 to do so. Similarly, no one expects that his blameless conduct will be rewarded by an especially advantageous destiny here on earth. In their naïve innocence the Fuegians are so reverential that they do not make such demands on their Hidȃbuan; moreover, no one regards himself as absolutely without fault. Besides, everyone has an adequate living; hence he neither needs nor expects more. If they make requests, they are driven to it by their own helplessness in the face of the invincible forces of nature and the threatening arbitrariness of the Supreme Being himself. The veneration due him demands that his name not be spoken thoughtlessly. Since all animals are his property, every human being becomes culpable who misuses them and who, with evil intent, willfully kills more than he needs for his subsistence, for everyone is permitted only this much by their lord and owner. On suitable occasions the adults do not fail to acquaint growing children with these ideas.

577 The duties of self-love are also clearly defined to a surprising degree. They are most clearly expressed in the descriptions of the ideal that should be striven for by a true Yamana. The motto, "May everyone be a good and useful human being!" summarizes the personal virtues which everyone strives for primarily because of ambition. Conspicuous rivalry impels many a person to outdo his other fellow-tribesmen in faithful fulfillment of duty and blameless conduct. Diligence and industry, a sense of order and cleanliness, compatability and a quiet nature, unselfishness and constant willingness to help, moderation in eating, and respect for tribal custom in its many details are qualities which the
577 society as a whole expects from each of its members. Their sense
834 of modesty is well developed (26). In front of women /1089/ and

26. Hyades (b):1346 asserts: "The sense of modesty exists among both sexes, but it is more developed among the women and is given a special name" /translated from French/. Cf. also Hyades (q):239. In addition he (f):573 also mentions: "Masturbation is very exceptional among the Fuegians.

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517 /1089 cont./
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Probably because of the continual cohabitation, sexual relations begin early among small boys and girls, but do not then become habitual" /translated from French/. The following testimony of Bridges (i):19, who usually speaks of the Yamana in a conciously derogatory fashion, is creditable: "In their personal habits whilst there was much room for increased decency and cleanliness, yet there were many good points that did them honour as men. Incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind. Although too often in other respects most immoral, as regards this hateful offence the native is quite pure. With the women there is a great sense of decorum, and man, unless he seek it, will seldom see anything to shock his moralities in their conduct" /cited in English/.

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children men avoid offensive jokes or obscene talk. In the camp and in the huts all the adults are clothed at least with a modesty-apron; only very old men are sometimes without it (p. 55). It is a fact that the true Yamana fulfills these duties more eagerly because he cares about his good reputation than because of his consideration for the lawgiver beyond the clouds.

517 It is almost impossible to select from the wealth of precepts and decrees the ones which are the most important props of the social order. Personal unselfishness and constant helpfulness, which are regarded as the chief virtues, must be mentioned again. The mutual relations of a married couple are happy for both partners, and from the first this favorable relationship is made secure to an important extent by the free choice of partners. Marriage between related persons is not allowed (p. 421) (27).

27. In this connection Bridges (i):19 asserts that "incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind" /cited in English/.

/1401 cont./

X756 display his superior achievements before it. The apprentices admitted young men who, on their own initiative, wish to devote themselves to the office of yẽkamuĭ. /1402/ who show talent and aptitude for it, and who are introduced by their relatives. Many a chap is under pressure if a yẽkamuĭ has been told in a dream that he has been directly called to this office by the spirits. Thus the lõima-yẽkamuĭ is a gathering of these chosen ones. Naturally persons who perform no services and simply want to satisfy their curiosity would not be permitted to remain. In the case of the so-called uĭwĭálẽxamuĭ (derived from uĭwĭala yẽkamuĭ), they must have an earnest desire to learn the skills of the yẽkamuĭ in order to practice them themselves later on. Many a father brings his grown son, hoping that in this school he will feel the desire to become a yẽkamuĭ, but no one is put under serious pressure by relatives or friends.

The wife of a medicine man may come for a few hours every day. During this time she accompanies him in the customary songs, just as she often does outside of the Great Hut. At night she goes back to the camp. Her husband may not accom- ● [834] pany her; during the entire affair, which lasts a few months, they cannot sleep together or have sexual intercourse. A few middle-aged men are requested by authoritative yẽkamuĭ to remain throughout or for a certain period in the lõima house. They are entrusted with the necessary work and services so that the yẽkamuĭ and all the apprentices may be left to themselves undisturbed and not be in the least distracted by manual work. These men who are the helpers, tend the hut fire, provide food, no matter how meager this may be, and are very alert to prevent any kind of disturbance of the lõima tarokẽ́w. The leader alone directs these helpers, although they may also assist the other participants in these ways. More than 15 persons at least assemble for a lõima-yẽkamuĭ. Besides that, a number of men are admitted on some evenings with the consent of the leader. They wish to convince themselves of the progress of the candidates and at intervals follow the proceedings with their own eyes. These visitors must be absolutely quiet; they may neither talk nor make a disturbance in any way. They sit motionless near the entrance and inconspicuously watch what goes on before them.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 S265 Yahgan S265

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

976 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the *kina'a* initiation rite on approaching his spinner was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting 84 was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs 84 were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [495] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WELFARE AND GOVERNMENT

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. 847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took 844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed